

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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R 041100Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4961

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 6478

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, AF, PK

SUBJECT: PASHTUNISTAN

PASHTUNISTAN DAY, AUGUST 31, CELEBRATED WITH GREAT AND TOTALLY ARTIFICIAL FANFARE EVERY YEAR, HAS COME AND GONE. THIS YEAR WE HAVE WATCHED THE ORATORY WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST FOR WELL KNOWN REASONS. HERE ARE MY CONCLUSIONS:

1. THE ORATORY WAS MUTED, IN FACT UNCOMMONLY MUTED. EVEN THE EXCITABLE (AND UNSUITABLE) PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR CAME TO THAT CONCLUSION.

2. PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE WAS MANIFEST. WHY THIS COMEDOWN AFTER THE EARLIER OVEREMPHASIS OF THE DAUD REGIME? (A) I BELIEVE OUR TACTFUL BUT FIRM PRESENTATIONS TO NAIM AND WAHID ABDULLAH HAVE HAD SOME EFFECT -- AFTER DAUD HAD HAD A LITTLE TIME TO REFLECT ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF RASH ACTION. (B) PROBABLY EQUALLY IMPORTANT (I REGRET TO ADMIT) IS THAT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR ALSO HAS BEEN COUNSELLING PRUDENCE, ADVISING DAUD NOT TO PUSH PASHTUNISTAN TOO HARD. THIS INFORMATION COMES NOT ONLY FROM SOVIET AMBASSADOR PUZANOV, BUT ALSO FROM DEPFONMIN ABDULLAH WHO RUEFULLY COMPLAINED THAT WE, I.E., THE UNITED STATES, AND THE RUSSIANS ARE "GETTING CONFIDENTIAL

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TOO COZY, SINCE YOU ARE EVEN GIVING THE SAME ADVICE." (C) THERE IS REAL FEAR OF WAR AMONG AT LEAST SOME OF THE PUSHTUNISTANIANS" AND CERTAINLY AMONG MANY OTHERS. (D) THE REGIME IS STILL FAR TOO UNSTABLE AND ITS INTERNAL PERFORMANCE TOO POOR TO ENGAGE IN

AN EXCESSIVE FOREIGN ADVENTURE AT THIS TIME.

THIS MAY NOT ALWAYS REMAIN SO AND CONTINUED INTELLIGENCE IS REQUIRED. THE CRISIS WILL FLARE UP AGAIN, FROM TIME TO TIME, I CONFIDENTLY PREDICT. BUT AS GOA'S PROBLEMS MOUNT, AS THE DANGER OF SPARKING BROADER CONFLAGRATION SINKS IN, WISER COUNSEL MAY PREVAIL. THE KEY HERE REMAINS NAIM, WHO KNOWS MORE OF THE WORLD THAN DAUD (EVEN THOUGH HE SHARES DAUD'S BASIC POLICY ORIENTATION). I WILL, HOWEVER, AS INSTRUCTED, RAISE THE SUBJECT IN MY FAREWELL CALL ON DAUD.

3. I APPRECIATE THE FLEXIBILITY THE DEPARTMENT'S RECENT MESSAGES HAVE GIVEN ME, AND HOPE THAT AFTER MY DEPARTURE, THE CHARGE AND AMBASSADOR ELIOT WILL BE GIVEN THE SAME LEEWAY. WE FULLY SHARE THE DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN AND MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO DEFUSE THE SITUATION. BUT TACTICAL APPROACHES HAD BEST BE DECIDED ON THE GROUND.
NEUMANN

CONFIDENTIAL

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